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115 his aunt, Doña Feliciana Bautista, and his uncle, Don Antonio Sánchez. Agustín also afforded fascinating data himself, as we were able to observe closely the process of his assimilation into the culture and life of the community. In the course of the study, he changed from a not untypical United States high school graduate into a pretty typical resident of Cherán.

[875] A particular debt of gratitude is also due Pedro Chávez. A native of Cherán, Sr. Chávez had been educated in a Government boarding school and was serving as a school teacher. Owing to the lack of facilities, he was able to teach only at night, and he spent his days aiding in the investigation, without compensation. No amount of pay could have secured more conscientious and faithful aid, day after day for many months. Regardless of the weather, or, I suspect, very often regardless of his personal concerns, Sr. Chávez either worked as systematic informant or accompanied one or the other of the investigators on endless visits, opening many doors to them which otherwise would have been closed. When not actively assisting, he wrote lengthy accounts of various phases of town life. A person of some eminence in the town, as well as belonging to the dominant political group, he had served as [624] town Treasurer and was a member of the committee which administered the town's forest lands.

124 The hundreds of Cherán residents who aided us at one time or another cannot, of course, be listed. Many gave long hours of their time and courteous and intelligent aid on numerous problems. Essentially, this report is their report and the outsiders acted primarily as guides, recorders, and interpreters. That the people of Cherán were willing to do this was due partly to the unreserved cooperation of the municipal authorities who endorsed the study on every occasion. I am also indebted to the Executive Authority of the State of Michoacán for providing me with the proper introduction to the town.

126 A word should be said about field methods at this point. Obviously, working with a large group of investigators presents special problems. Perhaps the most important special technique was to arrange to have all field notes transcribed at the earliest possible moment.

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632 procedures I could not discover. One of the members of the *ayuntamiento* automatically serves as mayor, the office rotating from one *barrio* to another each year.

In addition to the *ayuntamiento*, there are a secretary and a treasurer, both chosen by the *ayuntamiento;* a *síndico*, who is one of the members of the *ayuntamiento;* an elected judge and *suplente* and a secretary of the court.

[624] Certain other duties are performed by *comisionados*, that is, persons commissioned by the *ayuntamiento* or by the mayor. These include the 4 *barrio* chiefs and the 45 block chiefs. *Comisionados* may also be named for special duties in connection with fiestas or public works.

In addition to the above officials, there are other groups with special duties. The representative of the people, *representante del pueblo*, and two assistants are named by the town. The representative is confirmed in office by the Governor of the State and stays in office until deposed. His main duties are looking after the public lands. Finally, there is the *reserva*, headed by the *jefe de defensa*. The [625] *reserva* is a group of armed men, 11 in number, [662] authorized by the State military authorities, and, at the time of the study, headed by the real political boss of the town.

The nature of these offices will now be described in more detail.

Ayuntamiento.—Five *propietarios* and five *suplentes* make up the group, serving 2 years. Those from odd-numbered *barrios* are elected one year, those from even-numbered *barrios* the next year. Cheranástico was classed as an odd-numbered *barrio;* what is done now is not clear. One of the members of the group serves as mayor, the other as *síndico*. The remaining members participate in policy decisions and in the naming of certain officials. Otherwise they have few duties. The *suplentes* apparently sometimes participate in discussion, but they have no real function except in case of the death or absence of their *propietario*. Members of the *ayuntamiento* receive no pay. Normally they meet once a week to discuss municipal affairs.

Mayor or Presidente Municipal.—In years the odd-numbered *barrios* elect, if the mayor is to come from *barrio* I, the *síndico* comes from

632 before the judge. In such cases he may dis-
693 cover falsified documents, and will levy fines against the guilty party. Disputes over land ownership may come before him also and usually will be settled without reference to higher authorities. An example of the latter type of case occurred where a person occupied lands belonging to Aurelio Ceja S., which the latter had registered for 20 years. The intruder was
[685] sentenced to return the land, pay the owner 10
[691] percent of the value, and all costs of the litigation.

The judge receives no pay, but he is assisted by a secretary who is paid $1 a day by the *municipio*. The secretary may collect fees for preparing private documents. More detail on judicial cases will be given later.

625 *Police.*—Two (later three) men were em-
632 ployed as police in 1940-41. Their main duties were not actually police functions, however, but rather the running of errands and carrying messages for the mayor, *síndico*, and judge. Most real police functions are carried out by the *síndico*, *veedor*, and the *ronda*. The police receive 75 centavos daily; all are persons incapacitated in some way for heavy work.

Comisionados.—There are many kinds and
632 classes of *comisionados*. Perhaps most impor-
624 tant are the four *barrio* chiefs, the *jefes de cuartel*, appointed by the mayor each year. These men, together with the previous officials, are exempt from any other service during their year of office. The *barrio* chief commands the block chiefs and also the *ronda*. He transmits instructions of the *ayuntamiento* to the block chiefs when necessary.

The block chiefs are also appointed by the mayor for 1 year, and they have no other duties. On instructions from the *barrio* chief, the block chiefs notify the residents in their block if any communal labor is necessary, such as repairs to the water system, road or bridge work, clearing of town boundaries, or work in connection with a fiesta etc., and they see that each person does his duty. Special block chiefs may be named for unusual events such as the taking of the census. Such special block chiefs serve only for the time necessary to complete their special assignment.

632 The *ronda* is a "voluntary" night watch. The
625 town is patrolled every night by a group of 8 to

FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT

527
624
The fiesta of the patron saint, San Francisco, is held for 4 days, beginning the first Sunday after October 4. Usually after the Fiesta of San Luís in Nahuatzen August 25, *comisionados* are named by the mayor (on August 20 in 1940) and are notified by formal letters delivered by the police. Only persons out of town or those providing very good reasons may refuse to accept the post. The major duties are distributed by *barrio*, and for each *barrio* a head commissioner is named who selects a group of from 5 to 15 assistants. The duties in 1940 were distributed as follows: *Barrios* II and III each had to provide a band, *barrio* I provided the fireworks or *castillo*, and *barrio* IV provided the wax (*la cera*). The *barrio* IV duty really meant that it paid for the Mass and for the special candles burned. These duties are rotated so that in the course of 4 years, for example, each *barrio* will have provided the fireworks. The commissioners collect a sum varying from 80 centavos to perhaps a little more than a *peso* from each householder in the *barrio*, which they may use for their expenses.
[606] Anyone refusing to pay may be thrown in jail. The costs are not entirely equal for the different *barrios*, and, owing to the discrepancy in size of the different *barrios*, the individual contributions demanded also vary. The commissioners seem to have complete responsibility for collecting and expending funds, but if expenses are greater than the amount collected, the commissioners must make up the sum out of their own pockets.

In addition to the commissioners named for the above purposes, young men are commissioned for each *barrio* who have to provide poles and posts and reconstruct the bull ring or *toril*. Finally, four commissioners are named for the moros or dancers connected with this fiesta. Each commissioner has to find a dancer, provide him with his costume, and feed and look after the dancer throughout the fiesta. The duties of the commissioners will now be discussed in more detail as they functioned in 1940.

The commissioners for the *barrios* in 1940 were Mateo Ocampo, *barrio* I, fireworks; Florentín Rafael, *barrio* II, music; Fernando

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527 624 Durán, *barrio* III, music; Marcelino Guerrero, *barrio* IV, wax. Each of these men had a number of assistants. Marcelino Guerrero, for example, had eight. This group first estimated their expenses at about $125 to cover the cost of candles and the Mass. As late as September 17 they were not sure how much the wax would cost, because they had not yet talked with the new priest to find out what he would think necessary. Ordinarily in the past about 14 kilos of wax had been used, made into candles weighing a half kilo each. Smaller candles are also provided. The large candles have decorations of white paper. Formerly the candles were taken to church in a procession with music, but now there is no ceremony.

In addition to estimating expenses, the commissioner and his assistants made up a list of all the men in the *barrio* and set a quota for each contribution, varying from $0.50 to $1.25 per person, according to their economic conditions. About September 17 the commissioners visited all the houses to inform people what the quotas were and to warn them to be ready to pay their contribution. The following Sunday they made their actual visits for contributions. In 1940 they had some difficulty, because maize was scarce at the time and numerous people were having to buy maize.

Mateo Ocampo, commissioner for the fireworks, and his group had made up their accounts by September 12. At that time estimates were that the main *castillo* would cost [389] $150 and would be 20 yards high. The individual contribution averaged $1.25. (On October 1, Ocampo was still collecting money.) The fireworks maker had been engaged from Paracho. In addition to collecting money, the commissioner and his assistants had to cut and bring the poles for the *castillos*. The commissioner also had to feed the fireworks maker and his assistant for about a week.

527 624 533 The commissioners for the music functioned similarly. Their task was more onerous, for the musicians are the most expensive of the obligations. Fernando Durán, for *barrio* II, had arranged for the band of Nahuatzen at a cost of $270 for 4 days, Sunday to Wednesday. In addition to this, the commissioners had to feed the musicians for this time. If any funds were collected more than the amount needed to

527 pay the musicians, these might be employed to help pay for the meals. Usually the commis-
624 sioner and his assistants were each responsible
533 for serving one meal at his house. When a band is invited, usually 5 or 10 pesos are paid in advance and a written contract is signed, stating the amount to be paid and the time the music is to play. It is customary always to invite a band from outside, although sometimes the local band is hired. In 1940 the two bands were from Nahuatzen and Pichataro.

527 One commissioner for the moros is named
624 from each *barrio*. He has no assistants and does not collect money, paying the entire ex-
535 pense out of his own pocket. The commissioner finds a young man who knows the dance and persuades him to dance. He does not ordinairily pay the dancer (who receives gifts from storekeepers and others during the fiesta), but he must feed him breakfast and dinner (but not supper) throughout the fiesta. The commissioner also must assemble the costume, usually renting the more expensive parts, provide a horse with a good saddle, and attend on the moro all the time he is dancing, looking after his needs and making any necessary adjustments or repairs in the costume. The shirt, trousers, and shoes are bought and are presented to the moro.

In 1940 only three moros appeared. The fourth commissioner was a forest worker away from home during the week. On investigation, it developed that the policeman delivered the letter to the man's wife, who claimed she mislaid the letter and forgot to give it to her
[558] husband. No one believed her, but nothing could be proved otherwise. Certainly the family's prestige in Cherán went down, for everyone was annoyed that only three moros appeared.

527 The four commissioners for the bull ring are
624 all younger men. The commissioner for *barrio* I, Plácido Romero, had four assistants. None
358 of these had to provide services but aided in seeing that the other young men complied with their obligations. Each *barrio* had to provide 18 long peeled pine trunks and 7 stout posts. In most *barrios* each young man had to bring either a post or a pole, but in *barrios* with small population, such as No. I, it was necessary to bring two. When the materials are all

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3
541 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are
[427] friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not, it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In
[534] 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

527 The sequence of events leading up to the fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

527 While all the occupations in the town are represented in the fiesta, only the more impor-
463 tant ones take official part. These are the
624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary, and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

527 Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey
237 gatherers take the two images of their patron saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent,
[785] everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent.
[785] Some people fast until noon every day. Others do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

[624] Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

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252 262 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 252 262 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles, [578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 621 The ceremonial organization is linked with division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal 796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the 624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the Hospital.....	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

[text continues on middle of p.215b]

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Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidfied. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or uánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pandowapari*, and one *capitamoro*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

[184]

Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

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important being that of the čičiua. A *fiscal* looks after cattle belonging to the Virgin of the hospital and acts as a sacristan. A topil (a Maya word) rings the church bells and does errands for the *mayordomo* of the hospital. The *regidores* each have two messengers, the *mayor* or petajpi and the katapi. One of the duties of the latter is to chase dogs away during the fiestas, for which reason he is known as the "dog frightener," uičariri.

A person wishing to take a ceremonial office makes his petition to the *regidor* (of his *barrio?*), taking bread, chocolate, and liquor. [431] The *regidor* consults with the *cabildo* regarding the matter, but he cannot accept the gifts unless the person receives the office. Apparently the *regidores* function primarily as the administrative officials of the *cabildo*. They are said also to have functions with respect to the Indian population in La Cañada. Indians visiting Chilchota on business often consult with the *regidores* and, if the matter is one involving the court or *juzgado*, the *regidor* acts as intermediary and advocate of the Indian's cause.

Decision regarding the offices is reached by the *cabildo* before December 12. On this day the new *cargueros* assemble at the hospital where the wife of the mayordomo places a crown on each one; this ceremony installs them in office, although some apparently do not take up their duties until later.

The most important meeting of the *cabildo* is on the day of Candelaria (February 2). The principals and the *cargueros*, old and new, who have passed the office of *mayordomo* of Santiago, meet about 10 o'clock in the morning in the patio outside the chapel of the hospital. Men and women (wives of the men?) form two groups. The men are seated on chairs along the sides of a table covered with mats of tule. The *regidores* take seats at each end. The women are arranged in similar fashion but kneeling on mats on each side of a row of tule mats placed on the ground. The *regidores* evidently take their places first. As each person arrives, he kisses a cross placed in a little shelter before the chapel. He then goes to the *regidores*, crosses himself, and kisses the staffs of the *regidores*. He then takes his place.

Each of the *roseras* must bring two sugarcanes for each person and a bottle of liquor for

796 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they
624 begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in
[524] advance.) The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents
[431] of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them čapatas. In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual
796 bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

175 [556] holdings.[10] Commerce also must have caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed 175 within the community, although the property title was vested in the community and 423 outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic, [621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 The Indian communities were provided with an adaptation of the system of government in Spanish townships: 624

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is documented for early times.[12]

624 With the Spanish conquest the higher 565 strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The 175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests 623 that the system by which Indian nobles controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-45, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 422-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 100-108; 168-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:422-3.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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794 mon property of the cofradía, collected con-
575 tributions and made their own donations.
621 Thus they financed and organized the main
743 religious festivals of the community and
175 attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

175 The hospital had a number of yearly elected officers. The *prioste* was the head
624 authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for
743 the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

175 To care for the Virgin there were a num-
778 ber of female officers, sometimes young
624 girls, other times older women; they were most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

175 These officers were found in most villages for which there is information.[20] Many
624 differences in detail existed from town to
796 town, mainly in the particular festival each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1906, 423), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

175 794 575 624 Besides the cargueros of the hospital there were other religious officers. Sodalities other than those of the hospitales with funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes, fiesteros*, or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 794 651 Financing the cult involved payment of alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua*, custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 743 423 575 794 In the eighteenth century, many of the hospitales had property devoted to the support of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the village commons. One of the cargueros or a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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794 The effect of excessive cult expenses on Indian poverty was strong enough to lead the subdelegate (Spanish district authority) to give instructions against it. He recommended avoiding those banquets and superfluities based on the pretext of church festivals. In the case of Amatlan, he directed that no personal service should be given the priest other than that of sexton and bellman.[33]

624 The civil administration conformed to general practice in colonial Mexico. Every Indian town was headed by a *gobernador*. There were also one or more *alcaldes* (mayors) and a number of *regidores* (councilmen), according to the size of the town. Minor officials seem to have been more variable: *alguaciles*, similar officers called *katápi* in Tarascan, errand boys *(topil)*, and a scribe.

624 An important characteristic of this civil
794 organization was its close connection with the cult organization. For as long as the union of State and Church lasted (until the middle of the nineteenth century), the obligations of the village toward the priest and the cult had the sanction of the civil authorities who approved the church fees *(aranceles)*. The higher civil authorities also intervened in the regulation of cult activities.[34] The village civil officers had also some religious obligations in sponsoring certain festivals or in contributing to the support of the priest.[35]

The custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder (Spanish, *principal;* Tarascan, *t'aɪépiti*) seems also to have been present. Evidence for the eighteenth century is lacking. Only for the village of Cutzeo we know that the principales were those who had passed through the office of governor, and that *atole* (cornmeal) for their Saturday meetings was made by the semaneros in the hospital. Today, however, traits of the surviving religious organization suggest the former existence of this connection between civil and religious officers. The group of elders is called *cabildo*, which originally meant 'town council', although it can also mean sodality council. In Cherán, principales are those who have passed through the offices of prioste and colector. In Angahuan also, religious offices have to be held before one becomes alcalde or member of the cabildo.[36]

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33. Osbourn Ms.
34. Osbourn Ms.; Estado, 1944, *passim*.
35. The governor in Arlo, Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.), Coeneo (Rivera, 1888, 332, 334), San Francisco (Ocampo, 1900, 387); the councilmen in Tancítaro (Osbourn Ms.).
36. Beals, 1946, 132, 143.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

624 794 More detailed information comes from Chilchota. Here a man was first mayordomo of the hospital, then mayordomo of the patron saint, later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

175 794 735 At the end of the eighteenth century, then, the heavy cult expenses were causing the impoverishment of the Indians in those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 794 423 For the nineteenth century there is no survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only for the turn of the century is information again available. Since this is the period of further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 215.
38. León, 1906, 437.
39. Beals, 1946, 129 (for Cherán); 218 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 216, 139.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.309] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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423 duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro was used until a short time ago to buy wax for the church.

Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions
794 from cargueros or the townspeople at large. Indian impoverishment caused by
735 attending to religious festivals is reported again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

624 The period of Mexican Independence up to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *municipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:398.
42. Beals, 1946, 105; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1902, 404, 414-415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:391.

624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the
175 State. This undoubtedly influenced the local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is supposed that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

621 In spite of these changes, which occurred during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 218, 143.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1868.
46. León, 1906, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1938, 191-2.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

The traditional organization based on the hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kenguería*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

The local priest takes care of the liturgical celebrations. For their organization and church upkeep he can rely on the traditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

Communal property for the cult of the saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 143.
49. Foster, 1949, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 203-204.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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668 178 794 On the other hand, the intervention of the civil authorities reflects increasing secularization of the main festivals. It takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

178 794 The trend of change is not only to shift control from the cabildo to either the priest or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; and instead of the carguero sponsor, there [624] is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan; the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of offce. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero system. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 120-127; Foster, 1948, 204*f*, 215*f*.
65. Beals, 1946, 106, 120.
66. Foster, 1948, 196, 198.
67. *Ibid.*, 194, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 120, 126, 127.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
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Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uásukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uásukarákua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *tarándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *tarándukua šanári.*

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siráŋgua.* An official called the *kiéŋi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéŋi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akúʧperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uásukuni.* The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Atásukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *atásutákua*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apásikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.